UNITY

FREEDOM, FELLOWSHIP AND CHARACTER IN RELIGION

SAN FRANCISCO

The nations, large and small, met at San Francisco. They differed, they compromised, and they agreed. The result is disappointing to both isolationists and perfectionists. Nations can no longer fence themselves in, and the City of God is not just around the corner. There is, however, the beginning of a possible and workable world order which social realists welcome and which they will strive diligently to make better. The golden gate swings toward the future and progressive forces can march the nations through its portals.

Curtis W. Reese.

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The Field

"The world is my country, to do good is my Religion."

Transfer of P.O. Censorship to Courts Urged

Postmaster Frank C. Walker and the Chairmen of the House and Senate Judiciary Committees were urged on June 5 by the American Civil Liberties Union to act favorably on pending bills to transfer postal censorship from the Post Office Department to the courts. The A.C.L.U. telegraphed Walker and the Committeemen following decisions of the U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia on June 4 restoring second-class mailing rights to *Esquire* magazine, and on May 28 revoking a mailing ban on Dr. Paul Poponoe's pamphlet, "Preparing for Marriage." Postmaster General Walker to whom the bills have been referred was urged to give them a favorable report in the light of his declaration after the *Esquire* decision that postal officials now face an "impossible task" in administering postal law.

In making public the telegrams to Walker and to Senator Pat McCarran and Rep. Hatton W. Summers, the Committeemen, Roger N. Baldwin, A.C.L.U. director said: "We have been fighting Post Office censorship for the last twenty years. The Poponoe decision on May 28 finally ended the Postmaster General's power to bar from the mails books, pamphlets, and single issues of periodicals by personal whim without any hearing. The *Esquire* decision has now ended his power to penalize and curtail magazines he doesn't like by revoking second-class mailing privileges. But the fight won't be over until the whole question of obscenity is taken out of the hands of postal officials and put before juries where it belongs." He pointed out that this had already been done successfully in the Customs Service in relation to imported literature.

The Poponoe case was handled by Washington attorney, Virginia Duncombe, on behalf of the A.C.L.U.; a supporting brief was filed in the *Esquire* case.

U.S. Court Denies Army Power Over Civilians

The army has no power to enforce military orders on the civilian population in the absence of martial law according to a decision of Judge Pierson M. Hall of the U.S. District Court at Los Angeles on June 1, in the cases of three Japanese Americans excluded from the West Coast by individual military orders. The Japanese Americans were represented by the A.C.L.U. The judge issued an injunction restraining Major General H. C. Pratt, Western Defense Commander from using military force to prevent Elmer Yamamoto, Dr. George Ochikubo, and Kiyoshi Shigekawa, three excluded Nisei, from going anywhere they wish

(*Continued on page* 78)

UNITY

"He Hath Made of One All Nations of Men"

Volume CXXXI JULY, 1945 No. 5

Editorial Comments

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES

I

The Outlawry of War has been laughed at aplenty since this war began. Mr. S. O. Levinson's great idea, as supported by Senator Borah and at last enacted in the Kellogg-Briand Pact, has been given a kind of ridiculous supremacy as the essence of all unreality. But now suddenly, after being ignored, defied and cast aside as so much "moonshine," the Outlawry of War is coming into its own. The stone rejected by the builders is being set up as the headstone of the corner. Look at Mr. Justice Jackson's report to the President on war crimes, if you would know what I mean. Thus, it has been assumed all along that by war crimes was meant atrocities and cruelties of one kind and another—violations of the war code of the nations and the accepted standards of human decency. But Mr. Justice Jackson, in his report, raises the question of going to war at all —the question of aggressive war, or armed attack upon the peace and order of the world. In 1928, the Justice argues, the nations signed in Paris the Kellogg-Briand Pact, and therewith solemnly "renounced war as an instrument of national policy." This Treaty "definitely altered the legal status of wars of aggression," the Jackson report declares. It outlawed and therefore abolished war as a method of settling disputes between nations. If it did not do just this, then the Pact "has no meaning at all, and comes close to being an act of deception." Mr. Stimson took this point of view years ago, in 1932, when as Secretary of State he declared that, as a result of the Paris Pact, "war has become illegal throughout practically the entire world. It is no longer to be the source and subject of rights. . . . It is an illegal thing." Now, on the basis of this principle, Mr. Justice Jackson proceeds to indict the war criminals of Germany. Their crime was the initial crime of going to war in 1939 in violation of the pledge of their country not to do so. They will be tried and punished, in other words, under the terms of the Kellogg-Briand Pact for the offense of "aggressive war"—a fact which makes the Outlawry of War the livest thing in the world today! The weakness of course here is that we have as yet no adequate definition of aggressive war. What constitutes aggressive war? Was Germany the sole offender in 1939? But this will follow, perhaps as the result of the trials now impending. The great thing is that the Outlawry of War is being re-established in the law of mankind. I have always argued, in the columns of UNITY and elsewhere, that the Outlawry of War is the one sure road of statesmanship to the goal of peace. Mr. Levinson was right—Outlawry is the talisman! Would that he had lived to this day to see the triumph of his cause.

II

The one great question before the world today is the question as to whether the war against Japan is going to continue indefinitely, or until Japan collapses as Germany collapsed. The policy of "unconditional surrender" was consistently carried out in Europe, and worked a havoc which surely no sane person would want to see repeated in any other part of the world. What we have in defeated Germany today is a nation in ruins, without government or industry, and with a people helpless, hopeless, and inert. We have Germany on our hands, to reorder and keep alive as best we can. Now, are we going to repeat this experience in Asia? That we can do so, if we desire, is clearly evident. Already we are blasting Japanese cities as we blasted German cities. In due course, we can land on the home islands of Japan, as we landed in Normandy, and sweep a beaten country with ruin from end to end. But the cost will be ghastly, as witness the slaughter on Okinawa, and the result a world disaster. Why not end the war now, on terms which it is definitely known that Japan, fully aware of her impending defeat, has offered to Washington? These terms, of course, have not been officially announced. But it has been stated by Frederick Kuh and other responsible journalists, that they include surrender of army and navy, which means the complete demilitarization of the enemy, the abandonment of all of China, including Manchuria, and the cession of all the Pacific islands conquered and held by Japan, including Formosa. Only Korea is not mentioned, which of course is important, as a free Korea is elementary in this struggle. But the basic thing is that

Japan has accepted defeat, and is ready to accept terms which reduce her permanently to the status of a third-rate power. Why, under these conditions, should the war continue another hour—or the life of one more American soldier be lost upon the field of battle? Already we have won every thing that we went to war for. Unless, forsooth, we seek revenge upon a prostrate foe! President Truman has begun his administration well. He has shown independence, courage, and high-mindedness. Why should he not put aside this fatal Rooseveltian policy of "unconditional surrender," and himself initiate a policy of peace which would rank him high among the constructive statesmen of the world, and save Asia from the final doom which has now come so tragically upon Europe? We have won the war against Japan, Mr. President. Now let us end it!

III

Are the pacifists the only people who understand what is going on these days? It would seem so, if recent events are any criterion. Take all these Nazi atrocities which have been so ferociously exploited in recent months! Everybody has been terribly surprised, apparently, and terribly shocked, by these disclosures. But why so? There is nothing new in all these stories from Buchenwald and other Nazi centers. The Nazis began torturing and killing a long time ago. Their early victims were Germans—German Jews, German Communists and Socialists, German liberals—men and women by the millions who were despised by Hitler's gang or would not knuckle down to their tyranny. We knew all about these horrors, and were not too greatly shocked. Only the pacifists seemed to understand, and pointed out the significance of what was going on. This is the logic, they said, of the doctrine of force and violence as a rule of life. This is what happens when a world gives itself over to war as a means of settling disputes between nations. It is Germans who are suffering now; later on it will be Austrians, Poles, Russians, and at last ourselves. Get violence started and, like a prairie fire, it sweeps the landscape. The same thing is true of the ending of the European war. Everybody seems to be shocked by the devastation. Correspondents are awed as they make their way through ruined cities and wasted countrysides. But what in heaven's name, do we think war is? A tea party, a picnic, a little game of croquet or lawn tennis? War is death, devastation, doom. It is the deliberate attempt to destroy all that man has made, and, along with his precious handwork, man himself as well. The logic of war is the end of everything—what Gibbon called "the extinction of the human race." In the past, man has not succeeded very well in this work of death, but this is not because he has not tried. But now he is doing better—thanks to lethal weapons of unimaginable potency. Today, as the result of this last war, not only the enemy, but the whole population of a continent lies prostrate, friend and foe alike, and the victors totter in weakness, terror, and despair. The pacifists knew all this in the beginning. They told, at the start of the fighting, just what was going to happen. But, like Cassandra in old Troy, they spoke to deaf ears. The war went on—and now people are surprised at what it has done! But it is only the old story of force and violence again working through to their logical conclusion. The last act of the drama is following with precision upon the first. We are reaping what we have sown. And now, not satisfied with Europe, we are setting ourselves to a similar job in Asia. It will be a nice-looking job when we get through.

IV

The calculated vilification of Toyohiko Kagawa, of Japan, is the latest chapter in the fierce and hateful propaganda campaign directed against that country. Its purpose, of course, is obvious. Kagawa must be blackened as a beast, that the Japanese people themselves may be so blackened. The whole burden of the present propaganda directed from Washington is that the Japanese are subhumans. As a race, they are degenerate and brutish. To such an indictment, inevitably, there can be no exception. If one man in Japan is a saint, or even fairly respectable and decent, then a second may be so, too. And if a second, then a third. And so on, until the whole idea of an animal-like race becomes ridiculous. So the indictment must be made one hundred per cent. The best among the Japanese must be lowered to the level of the worst—and of these, of course, the most conspicuous is Kagawa. *He* is the hardest nut to crack. But a propagandist stops at nothing. So Kagawa is now being described as a villain double-dyed. Thus, it is charged that he, a lifelong pacifist, is now supporting the war. He is said to be idealizing the struggle as a war against "an unjust attack upon the Oriental race." He is described as working as an agent of government among Filipino Christians, to persuade them to join forces with Japan against America. He is pictured as abandoning his Christianity to accept the deification of the Emperor. There is not a scrap of evidence presented to substantiate these charges, except the report that his voice has been heard on the radio pleading for the support of the war and the defeat of Japan's enemies. As though any Japanese voice might not sound to American ears like Kagawa's! Or the Japanese military wickedly use Kagawa's name to deceive the world! But even though there were so-called evidence of Kagawa's delinquency, I would not believe it. No man who knows Kagawa, and has followed his heroic career, would believe it. As well accept evidence that the tides have ceased to flow, that the North Star has left its place, that water is running uphill. There are some things in the world of nature that simply are not so. There are some things in the world of man that simply cannot be so.

There are souls who constitute their own evidence of integrity and honor. And Kagawa is one of these. I know, without being told, what this noble Japanese Christian is doing and saying these days, for of him are John Milton's great lines forever true:

> "Unshaken, unseduced, unterrified,
> His loyalty he kept, his love, his zeal;
> Nor number, nor example with him wrought
> To swerve from truth or change his constant mind."

V

It is refreshing to have some common-sense talk about religion at the front after all the silly sentimentality on this subject that has been poured upon us like so much treacle. This talk comes appropriately enough from Bishop Henry Knox Sherrill, of the Protestant Episcopal Church, U. S. Army chaplain in the last war, and now recently returned from a tour of U. S. Army bases in Britain, France, Germany, and Italy. The Bishop is particularly scornful of so-called "fox-hole religion." There is no such thing, is his testimony.

> The men who had religious training at home [he states] are those who generally are going to manifest a religious consciousness on the battlefield, and those who were not religious before generally won't be. Of course, there will be some men who will discover religion at the front, just as there will be some who will lose it, but I wouldn't want to base hope for a religious revival on it. The men had the same general experience in the first World War, yet afterward, instead of a religious revival, the world went the other way.

This is true talk by an honest man. Of all the "bunk" and "bosh" associated with war, there is nothing quite so ridiculous as this idea, so zealously propagated by gullible churchmen, that a religious revival accompanies armed conflict between the nations. There is not, and never has been, a vestige of evidence that the murderous business of war brings men into closer communion with God. Ministers and others who see or prophesy such an awakening of the soul are simply seeing what they want to see in defiance of the facts, or else are unconsciously creating within themselves a compensation for what they know is their own guilt in sanctioning this horror. War sweeps the soul, as it does the earth, with havoc. It shakes to its foundations all human trust in God. It takes its practitioners out of the spiritual realm altogether, and gives them over to the influences of sheer brute force, which is materialism raised to the *n*th power. If religion survives at all this experience of destroying and killing by wholesale, it is a miracle which only the spirit can explain. In most cases religion withers away in wartime, or else is corrupted into superstition or mumbo jumbo of the crassest character. Hence the religious collapse that invariably follows upon war! In the last war, says Bishop Sherrill, "instead of a religious revival, the world went the other way." It will do the same after this war.

VI

The Meadville Theological School, now located in Chicago in affiliation with the University, celebrated the centennial anniversary of its founding last month. This event reminds us that theological education as such is scarcely more than a century old in this country. Before this date, the whole college curriculum was devoted to theological training, mixed with classical lore. Harvard College, the first American institution of higher learning, was founded in 1636 with the express purpose of educating young men for the Christian ministry. But the process of secularization inevitably set in, and theology came more and more to be put apart as a separate department of study. It was this process which created the Harvard Divinity School early in the nineteenth century, and in due course brought Meadville and many other schools of the kind into being. It is interesting to note the tendency a hundred years ago to place theological schools in small towns or even villages, apart from surging streams of traffic and great centers of learning. It was the monastic idea, I suppose, that determined this policy—the thought that students of the ministry should seclude themselves from distraction and disturbance, and thus outwardly as well as inwardly dedicate themselves to the high mission of the spirit. In our time the pendulum has swung the other way. The field of the ministry has become so extended, its interests so varied, its character so inwrought with the whole life and thought of the world, that contact of its students with great centers of population and great institutions of learning is now indispensable. It was this flooding current of change which caught the Meadville School a generation ago, and led to the exciting controversy over the proposed removal to Chicago. I imagine that there is no dispute that the decision taken after long debate was wise. Meadville is now one of the federated faculties which make Chicago University the chief center of theological education in American. A happy fate, duly celebrated on this anniversary occasion! Meadville begins its second century under most favorable auspices. A central location, distinguished academic affiliations, an able faculty, and a new president, Dr. Wallace Robbins, who is young, vigorous, and far-visioned! It was good to see how the alumni family rallied to the call of their Alma Mater to celebrate her one hundredth birthday, and with what confidence they hailed and proclaimed the future. UNITY extends its hearty greetings to President, faculty, graduates, and students, as Meadville thus prepares to continue and sustain her noble and beneficent history.

Helen Swift Neilson

Helen Swift Neilson, long-time friend and supporter of UNITY and The Abraham Lincoln Centre, passed away in Ossining, New York, June 18, 1945.

Jottings

"Liberated G.I.'s Speeded Home
by Eisenhower"
N. Y. *Times* Headline

If "liberated," these G.I.'s must have been in slavery, or custody. Exactly! That's what conscription is.

It looks as though Hitler were destined to join the historic company of the Flying Dutchman, Louis XVII, Marshal Ney, and others who have died but refused to be buried. Another of the great myths of history is in the making!

Estimates of the civilian dead from the bombing of German cities—Berlin, Dresden, Munich, Hamburg, Frankfurt, Cologne, Nuremberg—run as high as 500,000. That's quite a record for nations that were fighting to save civilization from barbarism!

A New England village reported a scarcity of flags for decorating the graves of the soldier dead on last Memorial Day. If these wars keep up at the present historic rate, the government will have to establish a priority on flags!

On opposite pages in a popular picture-magazine are photographs of Niemoeller and Goering. The former, worn, haggard, old—the latter, fat as a pig and complacent as an idol. What a commentary on Germany under the Nazis!

President Truman's prayer that we may be "humble in victory" is much to the point. Victory, like an intoxicant, is dangerous. It releases pride and arrogance, hatred and revenge, within the heart. We shall do well if we escape its poisons.

JOHN HAYNES HOLMES.

Emma Goldman*

CURTIS W. REESE

It is especially appropriate that the Jo Davidson plaque of Emma Goldman should be dedicated at a time when the spirit of liberty, weakened but yet strong, is rising from a victorious battle with totalitarian tyranny.

We have all too little regard for even our most prized possessions until the danger of their loss is imminent. So it is with liberty. Having sauntered with reckless abandon too near the abyss of arbitrary and irresponsible government, and having narrowly escaped a plunge into a black age of savagery, we now have greater appreciation than formerly of those who have looked with a clear eye into the face of liberty and who have been alert to the call of liberty. Among such persons, no name stands out more grandly than that of Emma Goldman. And despite the calumnies of Church and State, of bigot and tyrant, the lustre of her name grows brighter with the passing of the years.

In her life Emma Goldman believed in liberty, and she is the supreme symbol of liberty today. She believed in the free interplay of free minds as a means to the intelligent voluntary association of free citizens in a free world. Coercion was abhorrent to her very nature. To the extent that belief in liberty and opposition to compulsion do not square with the actualities of human experience, it should be remembered that liberty is in an area where over-belief is infinitely preferable to under-belief. While we live according to necessity, we can believe according to the ideal and we can widen the areas of necessity according to the pattern of the ideal. The very thought of liberty generates a divine impatience with restrictions, inhibitions, and the forbidden.

Emma Goldman loved liberty and was instant in her reactions against all attempts to encroach upon its sacred soil. When we think of liberty unrestricted, yet guided by free choice; when we think of liberty as a means to a full life and a goal of human organization, we shall forever think of Emma Goldman as its flaming symbol.

In her life Emma Goldman practiced intellectual integrity, and she is the unsurpassed example of intellectual integrity today. She did not inquire what the authorities of Church and State, or the still more rigid authority of custom, wanted her to think and speak. Never did she seek to conform to the conventional and the expedient; and never did she give weight to what others might think of her thought. Her experiences and her observations were put through the fires of her own mind and heart, and were forged into beliefs that were her very own.

And having arrived at conclusions which to her seemed sound and good, she unhesitatingly announced them to the world in words that were understandable and that were understood. Camouflage was alien to her nature. She had no traffic with intellectual deceit, or with the evasions of convenience. Having taken counsel with her innermost self, she let the counsels of her heart stand. Her intellectual integrity is an example that all the world should note and heed.

In her life Emma Goldman was courageously devoted to her convictions, and she is an inspiration to such living today. Her beliefs were convictions, and her convictions demanded devotion. She acted upon her

*Address delivered at the dedication of the Jo Davidson Plaque of Emma Goldman in Waldheim Cemetery, Chicago, May 30, 1945.

convictions, and she did not count the cost. She was no "pink-tea" revolutionist. She translated convictions into actions, and was willing to take the consequences.

There was nothing half-hearted about Emma Goldman. She knew full well to what she was fully committed, and she ordered her life accordingly. Neighbors might scorn her, friends might turn from her, the whole world might doubt her, but she did not doubt herself. She could no more turn from her convictions than she could turn against her own soul. In a world where honor is all too often hidden in necessity, it is an inspiration to remember one who knew no compromise with what she believed to be real and true and good.

In her life Emma Goldman challenged authority, and she is an incitement to vigilance against the arrogance of authority today. No one knew better than Emma Goldman how arrogant and ruthless and brutal irresponsible authority can become. She experienced it in courts of law and within prison walls. She knew how authority poisons the wellsprings of decent sentiments and dries up the streams of remorse. She pitted the volition of the free against the authority of the mighty. She trusted the unspoiled mind and heart of the common man, and she doubted the wisdom of men in high places. And when in her encounters with authority she suffered physical defeat, her head was still unbowed. Her spirit could not be broken, for in it was the strength of a free person freely committed to the cause of freedom.

Today liberty needs leaders who understand that they are servants and not masters of the people; leaders who cannot be spoiled by authority and who cannot be bought at any price. But the officious officials whose authority is derived not from reason and evidence but from title only are a menace to any land. It will be a sad day for humanity when there are no more Emma Goldmans to fling a challenge into the teeth of those who usurp authority or who misuse authority that is delegated to them.

In her life Emma Goldman was loyal to her comrades, and she binds together a fellowship of the free in all lands today. Her comrades were of all nations and races and colors. She followed their fortunes with an eagle eye, and she spoke in their defense when they could no longer be heard. Her comrades were not limited to those in exact agreement with her general philosophy of life. If they loved liberty and opposed tyranny, she was their friend and co-worker. If they suffered from oppression, she understood their sorrow, and if they resisted oppression she flew to their aid. There was nothing narrow about her circle of comrades. It was open to all who believed in free speech, free press, and free assembly.

And today hers is an ever-widening circle of comrades who, though differing in details, are one in behalf of the larger revolution that is directed toward the liberation and broadening of mankind's understanding and sympathy, thoughts and feelings, plans and hopes, until all peoples are one in the world-wide fraternity of the free.

Although the body of Emma Goldman mingles here with the soil of Mother Earth, the thoughts that she had, the hopes that she possessed, the goals that she proclaimed can never die. Out from the soil that covers her, out over the earth that she loved, there comes, and will come, hope for the oppressed, relief for those who toil, and renewal of faith for all who catch her vision of a grand design for a free society in an unfettered world.

Buchenwald: An English View

F. H. AMPHLETT MICKLEWRIGHT

The atrocities against humanity disclosed by the concentration camps as allied advance pierced open the structure of Hitler's Germany have rightly shocked the whole civilized world. It is more than doubtful whether the recent history of any Western power, claiming to have inherited the fruits of centuries of civilization, possesses any parallel to such sheer governmental inhumanity. *Buchenwald Camp: The Report of A Parliamentary Delegation,* published in London by His Majesty's Stationary Office, provides reading which places the worst horrors of fiction in the shade. At the request of General Eisenhower, a group of English Members of Parliament, drawn from the several political parties, visited the camp immediately after its capture. In their official report, they provide an eyewitness account of starvation, torture, and murder, which is without parallel throughout the war. It is now clear that the worst charges brought against Hitler's government are capable of confirmation.

The real question coming out of the matter concerns the deductions to be drawn from this discovery. Incredulous horror overtook many people, and the plea that "we did not know" was heard in several circles. Unfortunately, this plea could not be sustained for long. On April 27th, the London daily paper, *The News-Chronicle,* carried an article pointing out that they had been exposing the state of affairs in the concentration camps since 1933, the year when Hitler came to power and, shortly afterwards, initiated the notorious camp at Dachau. The leading article in *The Manchester Guardian* of the following day was worthy of the best traditions represented by this great liberal paper. It, too, pointed out the consistent protest which it had maintained since 1933 and went on to recall the days when some simple-minded Englishmen suggested that these camps were the best places in which to put Jews, Communists, and pacificists. Writing in the Socialist weekly, *The New Statesman and Nation,* on April 28, Dr. C. E. M. Joad once again remarked upon the extent to which the facts had been publicized since 1933 by the liberal and radical press. From 1931 until 1940, the government of England was in the hands of a Tory dictatorship more reactionary than anything which had misruled the country since the end of the eighteenth century. Either that group was guilty of a culpable and

an abysmal ignorance which had been punctured by their opponents or they did know and simply did not care. It is impossible to avoid the latter conclusion. To Baldwin, Chamberlain, and their supporters, the social persecutions initiated by Hitler and Mussolini, and afterwards condoned when carried out by Franco, were no more than the persecution of undesirable political elements. It is this party which, in English politics, represents the large industrial combines and the forces of big capital. Their black record in this respect should be a warning to the world concerning the amount of humanity towards anybody save themselves which may be expected from English Tories when they find themselves in the saddle and holding the reins of power.

It is impossible to try to fix the blame for these camps upon the whole German population. The ordinary man in Weimar may never have known of the incidents in Buchenwald beyond a few vague rumors. If he denounced them, it is likely that he would merely have supplied the next inhabitant taken by the Gestapo to the camp! It would be interesting to know how many of the Chamberlainites would have protested under these circumstances, if they had been in Germany. Bishop Headlam of Gloucester, for example, censured Pastor Niemoller for resisting the claims of the German state in the name of Christ! There was a significant lack of protest concerning the social effects of Fascism from Archbishop Lang of Canterbury. Protest, however, was never wanting where Soviet Russia was concerned! It is useless for the social class which these men represent to come forward now in order to seek a fastening of the blame upon the ordinary German civilian. The matter is not one of a guilty race but of a guilty class which is international in its ramifications. It is a notorious fact, underlined by Ambassador Dodd in his famous *Diary,* that the large-scale capitalists of Europe and America were building up Hitlerite Fascism over many years as a set-off against their old enemy, the Soviet Union. To them, it did not matter in the least how much suffering they caused; they represent a class who are completely non-moral in their public dealings. It was in the interests of large-scale capital that Chamberlain betrayed Czechoslovakia and slaughtered Spanish democracy. The same interests lay behind the notorious English pro-German organization, the Anglo-German Fellowship which was operative until September, 1939, and which had many industrialists and Tory members of Parliament among its members. Recent history underlines the point that Fascism is merely large-scale private industrialism accepting a certain political discipline, which it administers itself in the long run, in order that it may be set even more firmly in the saddle. In England, France, or America, these big business interests can be shown to have been drifting toward Fascism for some years prior to 1939. The final break with Hitler was not concerning principle but over detail. He attacked Poland which was crammed with foreign assets and thus double-crossed his friends. Writing in 1934 to *The Daily Mail* (London), a morning paper of the cheaper class, notoriously reactionary in its politics and at that time in high favor of the political systems of Mussolini and Hitler, Sir Thomas Moore, Conservative M. P. for Ayr Burghs, linked up the aims of the English Conservative party with those of Sir Oswald Mosley, the British Fascist! Many Conservative Members of Parliament were openly pro-Franco in their sympathies during the Spanish war. Their foreign policy was certainly not conditioned by a feeling of horror at the atrocities which Fascism was creating all over Europe. They would certainly never have understood the attitude of Mr. Gladstone when he roused the feeling of England over the Bulgarian atrocities of some seventy years ago.

There is a second deduction to be made and that is one of the constant brutality of Fascism. Mussolini gave Hitler ten years' start in the use of torture, murder, and the concentration camp. Yet he was widely eulogized by English Tories, including Winston Churchill, until 1940. Hitler's deeds are now an open book for the world to read. Even *The Daily Mail* has published accounts and pictures of Buchenwald although the Tory press is trying to follow Lord Vansittart and to twist those deeds into mere anti-Germanism rather than seeing them as a mirror of the international political system which they have favored and sought to bring about in the past. Franco in Spain has proved himself a political murderer of no mean order and a violent persecutor of all political and religious opponents, even though Lord Halifax once eulogized him as a "great Christian gentleman." Mosley in Britain was notorious for thuggery and violence. The practical results of Fascist brutality are a sharp lesson of what may be expected when democratic methods of government in the light of the popular will are thrown aside and when rationality and liberality cease to be conditioning factors of political theory and practice. Buchenwald should be a warning to the civilized world of what will happen whenever large industrialists or conservative groups seek to wrest politics away from their democratic heritage. It should also be a sharp reminder that the true martyrs of the constant war against Fascism have been the Germans and Jews, the Socialists, Communists, and pacifists, who have gone to the concentration camp rather than resign their ultimate rights of individuality into the hands of a dictator. When English Tories now offer their sympathy, they merely insult the sacrifices made by these brave people. Above all, it ill behooves those to protest against the brutalities of Buchenwald who, in 1943, were willing to see many thousands die of starvation in Calcutta at the same time that seventeen-course meals were being served in the European hotels of that city. The very name of Ireland should cause English Tories to reflect that the less they say about brutal methods, so much the better.

There is one final deduction. World peace and harmony can only be built up in the light of a living democracy springing forth from a religious valuation of the whole process of life and of each particular manifestation of it as it becomes rational and articulate in man. Modern religion has passed over from the old and highly transcendental theism to one which finds its God in the whole process of life and looks for its fulfillment within this circle of earth. The Buchenwald revelations are the latest stage in the revelation of the extent to which certain political orders had so framed life as to make this evaluation impossible in an applied form. With the coming of peace in Europe, the time is at hand for religious liberals everywhere to add their power to that of the forces of the widest international democracy in order that the results of the overthrow of Hitler may not perish in a mere welter of anti-Germanism but may be the prelude to the eradication of those political elements and economic policies in England and America which once made the horror of Buchenwald possible.

Revival of Pseudo-Individualism: The Hayek Case

VICTOR S. YARROS

Enlightened and earnest lovers of freedom and genuine democracy need not worry unduly over the recent recrudescence of what some writers have called a form of militant individualism in this country. A contributor to *The Christian Century* some time ago gleefully welcomed the alleged determination of the unterrified individualists of Europe and America "to strike back," to challenge the champions of collectivism, the supporters of New Deal legislation, the adherents of the gospel of Etatism, a question-begging term revived by two noted old-world economists, now refugees in the United States, namely, Ludwig Von Misses and Frederick Hayek, both of Vienna, Austria.

Certain influential periodicals have been deeply impressed by a new book of Professor Hayek, entitled *The Road to Serfdom,* which not only opposes and condemns "regimentation," government ownership, measures frankly socialistic in character and effect, but also any comprehensive and systematic planning. Indeed, to Hayek, Socialism and planning are synonymous terms.

In the opinion of these bold critics of planning and of government control and regulation of industry in the interest of the great majority of citizens, there is a high correlation between individualism and democracy. According to them, there can be no such thing as democratic collectivism. To encourage collectivist measures of the mildest kind is to take the road to serfdom. Mr. Hayek does not lack courage or self-confidence. The whole civilized world, he asserts, has been repudiating freedom, individualism, and democracy. The trends for at least seven decades have been reactionary, not liberal, in the true sense of the word. The Scandinavian Middle Way, commended and extolled by many contemporary self-styled progressives, is, in fact, a surrender to false and fatal doctrines. Great Britain, France, and the United States have severally reversed their noble revolutionary philosophies, have abandoned their faith in liberty and competition, and have thus unwittingly invited a violent reaction in the forms of Fascism and Nazism!

This absurd interpretation of history hardly requires comment and refutation. It is passing strange that men of education and ability should indulge the childish notion that all our misfortunes and horrors since 1914 are attributable to the measures of regulation and control which all the advanced, industrialized countries have been compelled to adopt at the demand and irresistible pressure of underpaid, undernourished, overworked toilers, of unemployed millions, of underprivileged and disinherited men and women. Was industrial slavery in Great Britain, including child labor, a happy manifestation of "individualism" as understood by Adam Smith and his laissez-faire school of economics? Was there more democracy in Great Britain before the enfranchisement of labor, universal elementary education, full recognition of the trade unions? Are we Americans less democratic today than we were when strikes were deemed criminal conspiracies, when labor was unorganized and weak, when there was no compensation for industrial accidents, no restriction upon child labor, no secret ballot, no provision for old age or involuntary idleness, no initiative and referendum systems, no protection for small investors and bank depositors, no regulation of utility rates, no modern statutes against private monopoly?

To ask such questions as these, is to answer them. Only doctrinaire pedants, isolated from reality, blinded by class prejudices, can dispute this. The sort of individualism preached by the Hayeks and their American sympathizers is so one-sided, so manipulated and perverted by its beneficiaries and their hired attorneys, that few honest and informed thinkers can be deceived into hoping or praying or working for its return. Of course, complete and consistent laissez faire never existed anywhere in the world. Adam Smith's theory that under free competition an "invisible hand" must unavoidably reconcile conflicting interests and bring about a lovely harmony good for all groups and classes in society, was founded on actual trends in trade and industry, and did not seem to contemporaries too optimistic or too sweeping. Smith was not unaware of the injustices of his time, but he expected that expanding international business would correct them. Developments since then have not lent much support to his theory. Laissez faire failed to work economic miracles, and monopolies multiplied and suppressed competition. Factory and welfare legislation was thereupon demanded and accepted by the humane elements of the British public. To declare that legislation was unnecessary and foolish is to outrage common sense and common moral decency.

Today, after decades of further experience, vain struggles against monopoly and economic autocracy, the rise of cartels and giant corporations, a return to the gospel of laissez faire is totally out of the question. Individualism in economics is plainly bankrupt. The self-styled individualists, in attacking not only planning in economic affairs, but also further legislation of the New Deal type, are playing the futile and somewhat ridiculous role of Don Quixote. Neither their groans nor their eloquent pleas will change the course of events. Professor Hayek knows this. Why, then, does he give aid and comfort to blind Bourbons and ignorant plutocrats?

That planning by or under powerful governments has its risks and dangers, no judicious lover of freedom and democracy has ever denied. Planning can degenerate into totalitarianism—but there is nothing inevitable about it. Planners can and should also plan for liberty. Security, freedom from want and joblessness, can be achieved without surrendering any other rational and desirable freedom. A government that undertakes to guarantee employment—as the British government is now pledged to do—can be prevented by adequate safeguards from invading and controlling fields that have no relation to mere production and distribution of wealth. You need not, by working for the State, or any of its agencies, forfeit the right to trial by jury, to bail, to free speech and free association for cultural or religious or recreational purposes. The State can be limited in certain directions while authorized to enhance and extend its activities in other directions. In short, there is such a thing as democratic collectivism.

We have in fact devised and successfully experimented with new safeguards and guaranties calculated to preserve individual and group freedom. To overlook or belittle the significant lesson of the Tennessee Valley Authority and like organizations and institutions is to betray either willful blindness or lack of intellectual integrity. Where is the serfdom in the T.V.A.? What have the workers and citizens in those communities lost? Are they complaining of Etatism? On the contrary, they are rejoicing in fuller and truer democracy.

We know that arrogant and obstinate economic royalists are perfectly willing to borrow the rhetoric and other weapons of the philosophical Anarchists, to denounce the State, à la Herbert Spencer of the nineties in the 19th century, to warn us of slavery and brutality, to sing the praises of individualism. But we also know that they have never refused special privileges and subsidies from the State. We know that liberty to them means retention of all ill-gotten gains, of the fruits of anti-social monopolies and ruthless exploitation. Educated economists should see through their game and refrain from justifying robbery and iniquity by half-truths, sophistry, and wild exaggerations.

No; the neo-individualists, or the pseudo-individualists, who are carrying on a campaign against planning and scientific social control in the economic sphere will not arrest progress or long darken counsel and obscure vital issues and alternatives. Those who tell us that the Hayeks and the Von Misses have profoundly impressed them, and who have changed their opinions and opened their eyes to the grave sins and follies committed by statesmen and lawmakers, should be advised to re-read Henry George, Ruskin, Marx, Proudhon, the Fabian Essays and last but not least our own numerous congressional reports on the growth of monopoly, the excessive concentration of wealth and the preposterously and alarmingly unfair discriminations against the workers of the world, manual and intellectual, under the prevailing system of distribution. "Free" enterprise is steadily vanishing, and the freedom and independence of labor is more fictitious than real. Political rights become a mockery and a delusion where millions of people able and willing to work cannot find jobs and more millions are undernourished, ill-housed, and in constant dread of poverty and misery.

The militant pseudo-individualists are at least half a century behind the time. Their phrases sound hollow, their indictments of whole nations and generations of leaders leave us cold, and their mountains of futility strike us as a sad and tragic waste of effort.

Collective Security and the Moral Law Among Animals

DAVID JOBMAN

There is a moral equivalent of war. The three brief decades embracing two world wars have demonstrated that no society or civilization can exist without a working morality, which gears its pace for growth and enjoyment, or sends it off on the road to painful self-destruction. Taking things as they are, the universal phenomenon is an apparent struggle for existence and the survival of the fittest. But life's greatest enigma has been: Between the lion and the lamb, between the vulture and the dove, who is the fittest and how is one to survive? In the year 1888, the great Huxley, chief exponent of the theory of evolution, gave his answer to this riddle. He published a paper entitled "Struggle for Existence and Its Bearing Upon Man," where the sweeping assertion was made that the animal world is "a gladiators' show—whereby the strongest, the swiftest, and the cunningest live to fight another day." In a way, it was a rehearsal of the now thoroughly discredited unsavory claims of a self-anointed master race that must have war, slavery, and blood in order to exist. In his zeal, the illustrious Huxley had failed to stress the naturalist's happy discovery that there is another and a more effective law in nature, of which Darwin was well aware, surpassing in its effectiveness the bloody tooth-and-claw performances in the jungle. This universal practice found among animals actually offers to the greatest numbers of a species safety, longevity, and full enjoyment of a happy life on the basis of an everlasting peace. It is built upon the recognizable animal instinct which finds its fullest expression in sociability, sympathy, and mutual helpfulness within the species. Let us glance through the scientist's carefully written intimate notes and see how survival and progressive evolution reveal themselves in real life, offering the moral equivalent of war.

Many decades before Darwin and Huxley appeared with their revolutionary discussions, in 1827, the renowned zoologist Eckerman told the immortal Goethe a recorded incident of how two little wren-fledglings, which had run away, were found the next day in the nest of robin redbreasts which fed the little ones together with their own youngsters. The "monarch of European letters" (the story goes) grew quite excited about the fact. He saw in it a confirmation of his pantheistic (humanitarian) views, and said: "If it be true that this feeding of a stranger goes through all Nature as something having the character of a general law then many an enigma would be solved." More than half a century later and eight years before Huxley's challenging paper appeared, Professor Kessler, Dean of the University of St. Petersburg, delivered a scholarly address before a congress of naturalists where he stressed the view (based on the findings of a minute factual study) "that in the evolution of the organic world—in the progressive modification of organic beings—mutual support (the moral law in Nature) among individuals plays a much more important part than their mutual struggle." By following the wholesome and peaceful instinct for new adaptation, acclimatization, and social collaboration the animals have found it easy and most beneficial to discard the beastly thirsting for one another's blood in the struggle for existence. But this universal mutual support instinct based on friendship and good will was not common knowledge until the alert and most generous editor of the *Nineteenth Century* review had published in the 1890's a series of highly illuminating articles from the pen of the celebrated Russian scientist and libertarian, Peter Kropotkin, whose lifelong studies in the natural and social sciences placed him among the foremost aggressive thinkers of our age. Taking the facts in his own words, we are able to behold a phenomenon of a living

universe with a multitude of species thriving in peaceful collaboration—a remarkable demonstration which gives our post-war world certain definite and workable pointers as to how to preserve peace by preventing a repetition of those fallacious practices which invite universal disaster in their wake.

Following faithfully in the footsteps of the field zoologist, we become acquainted with the indefatigable ingenuity of the ants regurgitating their own food for the benefit of the other frustrated and hungry mates who are in urgent need of the same. We find ourselves admiring those clumsy pelicans feeding a blind comrade bungling without avenues of escape. We are delighted to observe the monkeys showing their greatest solicitude for their wounded, or we feel amused watching the big crabs and various beetles come voluntarily and in the spirit of sympathy to the aid of their needy neighbors. It is indeed a thrilling experience to take close note of the sociability and mutual attachment of the seals, the communal habits of the viscacha, the mutual aid practices of the beavers, and even the vultures; not to mention the well-known social life of the industrious bees, whose delectable food, innocently gathered and stored with much labor by the tiny animals for the winter, both man and beast delight in cunningly stealing. By means of sociability, sympathy, and mutual support the innumerable herds and flocks of the mountainside and prairies find security from the designs of predatory neighbors; such relationship, explains the field investigator, opens the opportunities for a wider and fuller enjoyment of a more abundant life, makes it possible for larger numbers to expand without strife over greater areas, leaving ample field and inducements for individual resourcefulness and leadership. There is a self-reliance, which comes spontaneously where free association for general welfare is in vogue. We are made to identify the similarity between the friendly practices of the lower creatures and those socially ethical practices of solicitude and mutual assistance carried on by the human tribe, the autonomous village community, the guilds and free cities of medieval times, and those myriads of voluntary associations for common welfare of our own immediate generation. Even the common little sparrow, with all its deficiencies and impediments, shares in the behavior of that "collective sense of justice growing to become a habit" by taking joint disciplinary action against any lazy and reckless member who tries illy to acquire the fruit of others. It is of vital interest for us to note that among the monkeys, the orangutan and the gorilla (the least sociable) are the least numerous and on the road to extinction, while the boisterous tailed apes and chimpanzees are enwrapped in their joys and are as entertaining as they are numerous.

For the student of animal life it becomes a self-evident truth that without moral restraint no orderly social life is conceivable. He knows from actual observation that even the creatures of the prairie and the forest have learned by sheer instinct that evil cannot be productive of good. Biologically, brutal primitive competition, like the faulty arithmetic of Malthus, is the sorry exception and not the decisive rule of life. There is a universal sense of solidarity and social justice which holds the animal species in a voluntary check and in unison for the greater good of all. This explains why "the strongest birds of prey are powerless in face of the association of our smallest bird pets." By observing patiently the free gulls, the lapwings and the great mounds seething with well-organized ant- and bee-life, we gain the true meaning of *e pluribus unum;* for among them we see discipline without fear of compulsion; there the creatures have learned how to live in harmony with one another without any troublesome delusions of grandeur and superiority. Their system is unifying and constructive; it contains planning, organization, and building; and it answers the innate yearnings for freedom, for peace, for stability, well adapted to the peacetime uses of a peace-loving species, without leeway for a vicious tyranny that would hold them in its deadly clutch. Where mankind, boasting of reason and codes of ethics and much learning, has failed, there the animal instinct, without hypocrisy and rationalization, shows the right way, avoiding insecurity and pain. Where men lie and cheat and war to a bitter end, the lower animals are seen banded in sympathy to play and to live in orderly peace, enjoying life themselves and letting others do likewise. Even the carnivores and birds of prey—wolves, foxes, eagles and vultures,—are found practicing sociability and mutual support among themselves. The practice of solidarity proves much more advantageous though less dramatic to the species than the development of individuals endowed with predatory inclinations. The cunningest and the shrewdest are eliminated in favor of those who understand the advantages of sociable life and mutual support; for among the latter the interests of the individual and the interests of society are identical and the most complex problems become simple. They have no sophistry or bigotry or glaring untruths, motivated by greed and vainglory, to confuse their common interests.

If the ant, reasons the man of science, whose brain, according to Darwin, is one of the most marvellous atoms of matter in the world, and the bee, who attains such a degree of well-being and safety as no isolated animal can ever expect to achieve however strong or well-armed it may be, and the she-goose who adopts anyone's orphans, and the thousands of species inhabiting the hedges, the groves, the ocean cliffs, lakes and ponds—if these creatures, void of reason and lacking artificial or technical skill, manage to refrain from mutual self-destruction and can build a common life in peaceful cooperation, why not the human race, which is endowed with so much wonderful potentiality for the exercise of profound wisdom, foresight, power, and grandeur? If we knew no other facts from animal life, stresses the naturalist, than what we know about the ants and the termites, we already might safely conclude that mutual aid (which leads to mutual confidence, the first condition for courage) and individual initiative (the first condition for intellectual progress) are two factors infinitely more important than mutual struggle in the evolution of the animal kingdom. This is in full accord with Darwin's own suggestion in *Descent of Man,* indicating how in numberless animal societies *struggle* is replaced by *co-operation,* which substitution results in the development of intellectual and moral faculties which secure to the species the best conditions for survival — in such cases, the man of science emphasizes, the fittest are not the physically strongest nor the cunningest, but those who learn to combine so as mutually to support each other, strong and weak alike, for the welfare of the community. In full truth, voluntary mutual aid replacing beastly struggle is so extensively practiced among animals that the field investigator is forced to

the rather startling yet plausible conclusion that they are guided by a positive realization "of the close dependency of everyone's happiness upon the happiness of all; and of the sense of justice, or equity, which brings the individual to consider the rights of every other individual as equal to his own." "Do unto others as though you were the others," as Elbert Hubbard would translate it.

Turning for relevant comparison to Homo sapiens, we find that, biologically, man is no mere living organism, no mere creature among thriving creatures. He is in an outstanding position as an aggressive and accomplished triphibian monster who has mastered to perfection, by sheer will and perseverance, air, land and waters. Yet he failed miserably when he refused to follow the sound instinct of unity, sympathy and collaboration, which saved many an animal species from mutual destruction and extinction. Psychologically, due very specifically to early bias and faulty guidance, man has been suffering from an acute and chronic social cancer which combines moral weakness and physical disunity. Yet, basically, mankind throughout the world is not unlike those harmless and sociable black squirrels of the Far West, so admirably described by Audubon, as creatures who "require only being left in peace to enjoy happiness." For when liberated from their false and ethically rugged leaders and prophets, and when given reasonable opportunity to tap unhampered the wealth of an unbound nature, the entire animal kingdom, including the human species, manifests itself as a real simple brotherhood of individual groups devoted to good works, and not to the plotting of each other's exploitation, ruination, and untimely death. For us, therefore, it should be a source of real strength, practical encouragement and wisdom to pause in the midst of carnage in order to learn of the millions of our animal neighbors and winged friends who band together "simply to enjoy life in society and to spend their time in play and sports, after having given a few hours every day to find their daily bread." To the everlasting shame of man, the animal world knows nothing of the wilful crimes, torture, and bitter struggle *within the species* and against its own kind as humanity does. The creatures of the woodland and of the prairie certainly have no training centers for vendors of social and collective venom and death against their own kind, nor merchants of sorrow, nor have they mercenary legions who thrive on the vile passions of ignorance, bias, and greed. It should be no surprise then to hear in our own day an echo of the sentiments and convictions expressed by the libertarian naturalist of the nineteenth century, and from no less an authority than the Director of the Harvard Observatory. Says Dr. Harlow Shapley (speaking on September 13, 1944, at the annual meeting of the American Association for the Advancement of Science):

> We are still embedded in abysmal ignorance of the world in which we live. We have advanced very little, relative to the total surmisable extent of knowledge, beyond the level of wisdom acquired by animals of long racial experience.

Have animals ever been found perpetrating the crimes and follies of perfidy against their own species? Has man in the twentieth century really reached the wisdom acquired by animals of long racial experience? Is the human race ready and willing to learn and amend its ways so as to escape the terrible consequences of a World War III, even now already in the drumming? Is man, in his collective capacity, willing to grasp the basic truth that individual happiness, collective security and the moral law are inseparable, and that man himself, above all creatures of the animal kingdom, must turn to universal unity, universal sympathy, understanding of universal needs, and "port arms" in wholehearted collaboration with all humanity in order to survive?

At this point, a most important question must be asked. Why do certain species, as well as once mighty peoples and their empires, disappear from the active stage of life? The student of animal life, who is also a good anthropologist and historian, has the answer. A species succumbs, we are informed, not because it is exterminated or starved out by the other species, but because it does not well accommodate itself to new conditions, as does the other. That is to say, survival and progressive evolution follow the line of sound instinct or enlightened foresight to be guaranteed only by the channels of mutual trust, peaceful reorientation and cooperation, and a readiness for adjustment by intelligent and wholehearted adaptation. Undeniably, we must agree with the student of animal life, that sociability, sympathy, and mutual support, whether practiced in the nesting associations of birds, in the villages of rodents, the herds of grass-eaters, or in human society, are a biological victory over the primitive forces of evil and savagery; they offer positive universal peace, stability, and progress. These constructive practices are a protest against the preventable desolations of strife in general and human warfare in particular, where the sword, the fire, famine, and pestilence scatter the seeds of disintegration, bitterness, and revenge, implying unending strife, cruelty, insecurity, and ultimate death. All these data and conclusions, gathered meticulously by the patient labors of the field investigators, are true pages out of the Book of Life—even though they do shatter some of our pet and conveniently concocted theories or pleasant pipe dreams in the ivory towers, where so many of our well-intentioned and well-established political economists and sages are found courting the materialistic conceptions which feed the tooth-and-claw philosophy of life. The inhabitants of the forest and prairie, concludes the descriptive and stirring message of the naturalist, have a simple yet vital story to tell. Combine, they plead! practice mutual aid! for that is the surest means for giving to each and to all the greatest safety, the best guaranty of existence and progress, bodily, intellectual, and moral. This moral law in nature has helped numerous animal species to win the battle in the struggle for existence. It also invites man to make human progress and human happiness a certainty under the healing and unifying banner of the moral law in nature which offers universal collective security and an abiding world peace.

In the recent utterances of the world's outstanding statesmen there is hope that the human race might yet regain its lost soul and thus save its physical body from self-annihilation. Man is beginning to learn and to know that in unity, in sympathy, and in voluntary cooperation the very conditions for survival and progressive evolution lie. And we may yet live to see the fulfillment of Victor Hugo's prophecy:

> In the Twentieth Century war will be dead,
> The scaffold will be dead,
> Frontier boundaries will be dead,
> Dogmas will be dead; man will live.
> He will possess something higher than all these—
> A great country, the whole earth, and a great hope, the whole heaven.

Voices of Latin America*

VII. José Gil Fortoul: Venezuelan Freethinker

JOHN H. HERSHEY

Man, fate, and providence are discussed in a clear and systematic manner by José Gil Fortoul of Venezuela in his book, *Filosofia Constitucional*. The author, now an octogenarian, was born in 1862 in Tocuyo, a town in the northwestern part of his native country. At this writing he is still living, residing in the city of Caracas, the capital He is a writer, historian, and philosopher. As a public man, he has represented his government in American and European countries, and has also held governmental positions in Venezuela, including the Presidency in 1913-14.

Gil Fortoul's book on constitutional philosophy, as the title mentioned above indicates, is concerned with an analysis of governmental forms and principles. The lengthy first part of the volume, however, expounds the author's ideas of man, society, and the universe. Although first published as long ago as 1890, a third edition in the Spanish language was issued as recently as 1940. Much of it is relevant to the present day. This article summarizes the first section of the book in which Gil Fortoul examines both the fatalistic and the theological conceptions of the world, and also states his own outlook.

The theological system of thought, according to the Venezuelan writer, assumes, in the "Judaeo-Christian mythology," the divine origin of human societies. The first man and woman, in this interpretation, were creaated perfect by a conscious, supernatural being who has direct contact with his creatures. The inflexible will of this being rules over men and nations; they exist merely to work out his designs. Thus social phenomena are the effects of the operation of the supernatural. For those holding this belief, Gil Fortoul says, "the perfect life for individuals would be contemplation in a convent, and the perfect life for nations would be like that of Spain under Philip II." Therefore, the proper formula for summarizing social science would be simply, "Providence has determined it."

Another view of man in relation to the universe, the Venezuelan says, is that of fatalism. Fate is supposed, by those holding this philosophy, to be a blind, natural force by which all things and beings are ruled. Thus even human activities are as inevitable as "the smoke rising from a blaze or a stone falling off a precipice." Men and nations exist merely as expressions of blind fate. Their activities, in such a world view, would be stupid and unproductive. For individuals, "the perfect life would be that of a Stoic idler; for nations, it would be that of the enervating Asiatic countries."

The differences and the similarities between the two foregoing conceptions are then examined by Gil Fortoul. The fatalistic idea differs from the theological in that the former rejects the influence and even the existence of a personal, supernatural power. But he points out that there are similarities between the two views. Metaphysically, both assume mysterious forces external to man to explain social phenomena. In either case, man has to submit to a force of some kind. Both ideas are unscientific because they are not the results of observation and do not explain society. Practically, the logical result of the acceptance of either is inaction. There is even similarity in the use of words, since the blind, natural force and the conscious, supernatural power are sometimes referred to by such terms as Destiny or Nature. The author, in concluding his analysis of the similarity between fatalism and theology, states emphatically, "Both systems, therefore, converge into one terrible consequence—the denial that progress results from human effort."

The Venezuelan's own conception of man and the universe may be summarized as follows. The correct method to apply in the study of man and social groups is the scientific. Careful observation is needed to discover the real laws of social evolution. From science it is concluded that man is a creature of the animal kingdom, and that civilized man descended from primitive human beings. Indeed, such traits as sympathy, mother love, foresight, and even the religious sentiment are found in some animals. Furthermore, the two chief types of the human family, the patriarchal and the matriarchial, as well as all the varied forms of sex behavior from promiscuity to monogamy, are also found in the animal kingdom. Thus human evolution is one aspect of the total evolution of terrestrial life.

It is important to note, according to Gil Fortoul, that there are two kinds of evolution in human society. One kind is similar to that which occurs in physical nature outside man. It is unconscious evolution. This is "a movement which is realized without any intervention of man." It operates in human development, as well as in the inorganic and plant and animal realms. It is exemplified in the human body, in the races of men, and largely in primitive societies. Thus there is some truth in the doctrine of fatalism, but only up to a certain point.

The other kind of evolution, the Venezuelan thinker says, operates in human affairs. It is conscious evolution by man himself. Although human beings do not have absolute free will, they do have a limited degree of freedom. Human thoughts and actions are expressed independently of a supernatural providence or a blind, external force. By means of labor and science, man can consciously and favorably change the physical environment. Social life can be modified by improving customs and institutions. Science, art, civil and political liberties are all products of conscious evolution. Revolutions that occur sometimes constitute a deliberate change. Both unconscious and conscious evolution take place in the civilized countries of Europe and America, and today also in parts of Asia. As man becomes more civilized individually and collectively, he will be decreasingly the subject of unconscious evolution, and increasingly the master of purposeful development.

*The seventh of a series of articles on Latin-American leaders appearing from time to time in the columns of UNITY.

Spiritually Sensitive

SHELDON SHEPARD

I have a friend who, according to his own testimony, periodically grows so "spiritually sensitive" that he finds himself in many kinds of difficulty. He is a sincere student, interested in personal development, with faith in the possibility of dominating material things by thought and spirit.

But I have learned to expect, when he becomes involved in any personal unpleasantness, or experiences difficulty with any plan, that he will soon come out with the explanation: "Well, you know I am developing so rapidly, my vibrations are growing to be so fine, that anything inharmonious in environment disturbs me. It is like a delicate instrument being roughly treated."

Now that is not my idea of spiritual development. Indeed, I should describe it in quite opposite terms. To me that is like saying: "My radio is so well adjusted that the static is terrible; it is so accurately tuned that I get every station except the one for which I have set the dial."

For that is just what my friend declares. He is so finely attuned that he "gets" everything but that which he seeks. He is so well adjusted that the static in his soul is terrible. He is so spiritually developed that evil forces control him. He testifies that he has so successfully attained that for which he strives that he loses all its benefits.

Is it not much better to recognize that spiritual development means the presence in heart and life of the songs of heaven under all circumstances? A famous student of birds was so attuned to the sounds of birds that in the midst of heavy New York traffic he stopped to listen to a song which no one else could hear. Like that is being spiritually tuned. In all storms to be able to hear the Divine music; in all discord to catch a harmony; to pick out of the pattern of the noises of life the thread of melody.

Spiritual development means also immunity from influences which would disturb serenity. It gives capacity to be "in the world, but not of the world." It means the power to transform the current of force which comes from any experience and turn it to the accomplishment of good. True spiritual development shows itself in the transforming circumstances. Victory sufficient for peace with things as they are, and power to change conditions, are the characteristics of the inner kingdom. When we fail in these attainments, it is better that we do not boast of our growth, but go on humbly, knowing that as we seek that kingdom we shall find "all things" responding to its nature.

So I am afraid that my friend's explanation of his misfortunes and disturbances is merely an excuse for his failure to attain a spiritual development he might have. It is a form of the old technique of blaming a scapegoat, called sometimes in slang, "passing the buck." His attitude has in it a dangerous proportion of hypocrisy, for it is a good deal like saying, "I will," and then not doing it. In fact it is worse, for he even fails to go and then testifies that he has been. He makes the same kind of excuse as the man who refused to buy a ticket for a charity concert, but congratulated the solicitor on the work she was doing, saying, "I am with you in spirit." "Well," responded the lady, "where would you like your spirit to sit; we have one and two dollar seats."

"Things of the spirit," being intangible, immeasurable, are easily made the subject of pretense. Sometimes we see the fruits of the spirit in objective attainment. If we could see clearly enough, unblinded by limitation and ignorance, we should always thus see them. But our shortsightedness often prevents our seeing directly the full fruition of spirit. However, we should be careful not to let that fact cause us to pretend development we do not have. The Pharisee's testimony was loud and public and long.

It is true that the only sound standard for spiritual growth is the experience of the individual. No one else can say of the kingdom, "Lo here, lo there." But the student should look carefully within to see that he possesses the genuine article.

The products of spiritual development in the individual cannot be uneasiness, fretfulness, irritation, complaint. Just the opposite of all these, for the fruits of the spirit are "love, joy, peace, long-suffering, gentleness, goodness, faith, meekness, temperance." There is nothing there that sounds like defeat, or increasing susceptibility to the "darts of the evil one." The spiritual life is victory.

The Field

(*Continued from page* 66)

in the United States, including California.

Judge Hall held that it was unnecessary for him to pass on the constitutionality of the individual exclusion orders themselves, since he ruled that military orders can legally be enforced only by civil authorities, and that therefore anyone disobeying such an order has a right to trial in a federal court with full opportunity to prove the order unconstitutional. A. L. Wirin, attorney for the Southern California Branch of the A.C.L.U., who argued the cases hailed the decision as "noteworthy and courageous," and said it was the first time any Pacific Coast judge had handed down an opinion favorable to the rights of Japanese Americans.

Opposition to Peacetime Draft

Passage now of legislation for peacetime conscription was opposed at hearings June 8 before the House Committee on Post-War Military Policy by Ernest Angell, New York attorney, on behalf of the A.C.L.U. Mr. Angell made four points to the committee under the chairmanship of Rep. Clifton A. Woodrum. He said (1) any form of compulsory service violates personal liberties and "only the gravest considerations can justify the resort to such general compulsion as universal military training in time of peace"; (2) this is no time to make such an important decision as the "emotions which are aroused during a war are not those on which a seasoned, long-range judgment can safely be based"; (3) considerations of national defense do not require a decision now since "it is evident that at the conclusion of the greatest war in history no immediate threat will confront the United States"; and (4) "millions of men in the armed forces do not have the opportunity to participate in this debate; a democratic decision cannot be reached without them."

The Study Table

Recent Negro Cults

BLACK GODS OF THE METROPOLIS. *By Arthur Huff Fauset. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. 126 pp. $2.00.*

Within our own generation, the religious scene in America has been enriched by a number of colorful and intriguing religious movements among both whites and Negroes. This slim volume represents, I believe, the first scholarly attempt to bring together factual material regarding the five most important Negro religious cults of the urban North that have arisen within the past few decades. They are the Mt. Sinai Holy Church of America, Inc., the United House of Prayer for All People, the Church of God (Black Jews), the Moorish Science Temple of America, and the Father Divine Peace Mission Movement.

The study of these movements made by Doctor Fauset is based on personal testimony given by members of these cults, quotations from their sacred writings, and the author's own experiences at services and meetings or in private interviews with leaders of these movements. The author, himself partly of Negro origin, brings to his work not only the mind of the scientist and objective observer but also that sympathy for his subject which his kinship with the Negro world would imply. He prefaces his studies with a general discussion of "The Emergence of the Negro Cult," and answering the question, "What do the Cults Mean?" says in part: "About the beginning of the twentieth century, possibly co-existent with the industrial and economic upheaval which was characterizing the same period, new types of Negro churches made their appearance. These more nearly represented *doctrinal* splits within the older established models. . . . Later and further developments in the tendency to form splits show pronounced 'nationalistic' characteristics, that is, churches which tend to emphasize the racial qualities of the communicants, sometimes almost to the exclusion of any preoccupation with the Deity, the Christ, or the Trinity." These cults have been classified under the headings: (1) Faith Healing, (2) Holiness, (3) Islamic—or rather "nationalistic," (4) Pentecostal, (5) Spiritualist.

The author compares these cults to orthodox evangelical patterns or their deviation from these, and adds a chapter on "Why the Cult Attracts," one on "The Cult As a Functional Institution," another on "The Negro and His Religion," and closes with a "Summary of Findings" under ten points, the fourth of which attests the similarity of such cults to their white counterparts, to wit: "the personality of the leader of the cult frequently is a very substantial determining factor in the attractiveness of the particular cult to its members." A concluding observation reads: "We surmise from these evidences that the Negro church is still to be reckoned with as a positive factor in the further social, political, and economic development of the American Negro." The author would not, however, have this conclusion interpreted as a substantiation of Professor Herskovits' impression (*The Myth of the Negro Past*) "that the Negro religious 'bent' impels him to 'turn to religion rather than to political action or other outlets for his frustration'."

Two Appendices of "Selected Case Materials" and a comprehensive bibliography add to the value of this scholarly and timely volume.

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY.

Books Received

AN AUGUSTINE SYNTHESIS. *By Erich Przywara. Published by Sheed & Ward, 63 Fifth Avenue, New York City.*

MY CARAVAN OF YEARS. *By Goldie Stone. Published by Bloch Publishing Company, New York City. 252 pp. $2.75.*

A NEWMAN SYNTHESIS. *By Erich Przywara. Published by Sheed & Ward.*

SAINT IGNATIUS. *By Christopher Hollis. Published by Sheed & Ward.*

THE STORY OF THE CHRISTIAN. *By George M. Gibson. Published by Abingdon-Cokesbury Press, Nashville, Tennessee. 238 pp. $2.50.*

Correspondence

On Perfectionism

To UNITY:

In the May "Jottings" of UNITY, Dr. Holmes takes a facetious jab at those of us who have been taking the "perfectionists" to task, and quotes, to uphold his point of view, the famous sentence from the Sermon on the Mount: "Be ye therefore perfect, even as your Father which is in heaven is perfect."

A lot of this name-calling between "perfectionist" and "non-perfectionist" is getting to be rather childish. Would it not be wiser to scrutinize the words more closely upon which both the perfectionist and his opponent base their arguments? What did these much-abused and even more frequently abused words, like perfect, perfection, etc., really mean in their ancient original. For example, there are the Hebrew terms *shalem* and *tamim,* the Greek *artios* and *teleios,* and there is the Latin root word *perficere.* What would their modern derivatives mean?

I think upon an examination of these terms it would be discovered that the non-perfectionist, or shall I say the anti-perfectionist, is as close, if not closer, to the truth than is the perfectionist. It was a distinguished Bible scholar who wrote regarding the Hebrew word for perfect, *shalem,* "when used of man it denotes, first of all, conformity to the ideal entertained at the time, and is therefore a relative and quite variable and expansive term."

KARL M. CHWOROWSKY.

Brooklyn, New York.

Lola Maverick Lloyd

To UNITY:

Material is being collected for a biography of the late Lola Maverick Lloyd, Texas-born peace worker and feminist who was urging world federation many years ago. Through your kindness I should like to ask any of your readers who have letters from her, pictures, or special impressions, to send them to me in care of the Campaign for World Government, 166 W. Jackson Boulevard, Chicago, Illinois. If any are wanted back, state which and I shall copy and return them.

JESSIE LLOYD O'CONNOR.

Fort Worth, Texas

Western Unitarian Conference

RANDALL S. HILTON, Executive Secretary
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CONFERENCE REQUEST GRANTED

The Board of Directors of the Western Conference at its February meeting voted to request the United Unitarian Appeal to raise the allotment for the Conference from $3,000 to $4,500. Word has been received from the Appeal Committee that this request has been granted.

At the Annual Meeting, held in Hinsdale in May, the Conference unanimously passed the following resolutions:

1. WHEREAS, the Board of Directors of the Western Unitarian Conference has requested an increase in the contribution to the Conference from the United Unitarian Appeal; and
   WHEREAS, the Conference is mindful of its responsibility for increased activities: Therefore be it
   RESOLVED, That the Conference at this its Ninety-third Annual Session go on record in support of the request of the Board of Directors and that they urge the United Unitarian Appeal to grant the request; and be it,
   RESOLVED further, That a copy of this resolution be sent to the United Unitarian Appeal Committee.
2. WHEREAS, the Ninety-third Annual Meeting of the Western Unitarian Conference, in Hinsdale, Illinois, has petitioned the United Unitarian Appeal for an increase in the Western Conference share of the Appeal, in order to facilitate an expansion of the work of the Western Conference Program, and should support any effort to increase the effectiveness and the scope of its work: Therefore be it
   RESOLVED, That the churches of the Western Conference be urged to support with increased vigor the United Unitarian Appeal, and that they be especially urged to plan their Appeal campaigns as early as possible in the year and to cooperate to the fullest extent with the United Unitarian Appeal Committee in its work; and be it
   RESOLVED further, That copies of this resolution be sent to all the churches of the Western Conference, and that a copy be forwarded to the United Unitarian Appeal.

The granting of the request of the Conference by the United Appeal Committee should cause the churches of the Conference to intensify the efforts they have made to support the United Appeal. The churches of the Conference have increased their combined contributions to the Appeal each year since its beginning. This past year was our best in both dollars contributed and the percentage of our combined quota raised. However, we are still considerably short of reaching 100 per cent of our quota.

We congratulate those churches which reached or excelled their quota of the United Appeal. We hope that their example will be followed by more and more churches. The need for increased financial support of the work of our Conference and our national and international activities is obvious. We can easily provide this support if we will to do so.

CAPITAL FUNDS

While the increase in contribution from the United Appeal will help in increasing the effectiveness of the work of the Conference there is still a real need to increase our capital funds. There are services to the churches which the Conference should be providing which it is financially impossible to do at the present time. There is also the need of a headquarters building which would provide office space and lodging facilities for Unitarians who are in Chicago on official business. The Board has taken the first step toward securing such a place. At the Annual Meeting the Conference unanimously passed this resolution:

WHEREAS, there is a need for increasing the endowment of the Western Unitarian Conference: Therefore be it

RESOLVED, That this Conference, in this its Ninety-third Annual Session, urge the Board of Directors to establish plans for securing contributions to the capital funds of the Conference and for the purchase of a headquarters building; and be it

RESOLVED further, That we urge our churches and their members to cooperate with and participate in such plans as may be established by the Board of Directors.

The Board requested the Committee on Promotion to set up plans and gave them power to act. The Committee has made such plans but is holding them in abeyance pending a possible joint venture with the American Unitarian Association and the United Appeal. At this writing word has not been received on the outcome of these negotiations.

REGIONAL SEMINARS

Since our desire to cooperate with the Government and the O.D.T. made necessary the cancelling of both the May meetings of the American Unitarian Association and the Lake Geneva Summer Assembly, plans have been made for holding small regional conferences this fall. They will be known as Administrative Seminars and will be held from coast to coast. Seven of these Seminars have been planned for the Western Conference. You will hear more about them in the near future when the dates and programs are more definite.

It will be the purpose of these Seminars to get the officers of the churches and church schools in the regions together for the discussion of their individual and mutual problems. National and Conference leaders will be present at each of the Seminars to be of all possible help and assistance but they are not going to give a series of pep talks or hand down any ready-made programs. The Seminars will be yours and will deal with your problems and ideas.

The seven regional Administrative Seminars of the Western Conference will be held during the month of October. The dates and places will be released as soon as arrangements have been completed.